

Message Text

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 00340 200738Z

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 151054Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6018

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T KINSHASA 0340

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CG, OAU, AO

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: POST-OAU CONSULTATIONS

1. SUMMARY: DURING LENGTHY MEETING EVENING JAN 14, FOREIGN MINISTER BULA SAID OAU WAS "DEAD" AS POSSIBLE FRAMEWORK FOR ANGOLA SOLUTION. HAVING SUCCESSFULLY HELD LINE AGAINST MPLA SUPPORTERS AT ADDIS, GOZ WILL NOW CONTINUE DIPLOMATIC/POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TO PREVENT FURTHER MPLA RECOGNITIONS. AT SAME TIME GOZ WILL INCREASE PUBLIC ATTACKS ON SOVIETS AND TAKE DIPLOMATIC STEPS AGAINST AFRICAN STATES WHO WERE MOST HOSTILE TO ZAIRE AT ADDIS. BULA REITERATED ANXIETY RE SOVIET THREAT TO ZAIRE AND REST OF AFRICA AND SAID GOZ AGAIN WEIGHING PROS AND CONS OF RAISING MATTER WITH UN SECURITY COUNCIL. HE STRESSED URGENCY OF MILITARY SITUATION IN NORTHERN ANGOLA AND APPEALED FOR US HELP "BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE." END SUMMARY.

2. BULA REVIEWED HIGHLIGHTS OF OAU MEETING AND REVEALED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 KINSHA 00340 200738Z

HIS OBVIOUS SATISFACTION WITH GOZ ROLE IN PREVENTING MPLA

BANDWAGON. HOWEVER, GOZ NOW CONSIDERED OAU AS TOTALLY USELESS FROM STANDPOINT OF OFFERING ANY HELP IN MOVING ANGOLA TOWARD POLITICAL SOLUTION. HE SAID IF NOTHING ELSE OAU MEETING HAD BROUGHT INTO FOCUS WHICH STATES WERE PLAYING THE SOVIET GAME AND WHICH WERE NOT. WITH THE LINES NOW CLEARLY DRAWN, THERE WAS NO REASON THAT THOSE OPPOSING SOVIET INTERVENTION SHOULD NOT STAND UP AND SAY SO. AT SAME TIME, BULA SAID, THEY SHOULD NOT BE AFRAID TO ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH THE US. THIS WAS THE POSITION ZAIRE HAD TAKEN AT ADDIS AND WOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE IN DEFINING AND PURSUING ITS POSITION. BULA EXCORIATED SOVIETS FOR HAVING BOUGHT OFF NUMBER OF AFRICAN STATES (HE AGAIN MENTIONED BURNUNDI AS EXAMPLE) AND SAID ZAIRE WOULD MAKE KNOWN ITS DISPLEASURE WITH THOSE STATES WHICH AT ADDIS HAD GONE OUT OF THEIR WAY TO ATTACK ZAIRE AND SUPPORT SOVIET/MPLA LINE. GUINEA HAD CIRCULATED PARTICULARLY VIRULENT CRITICISM, AND GOZ THEREFORE WITHDRAWING ITS AMBASSADOR FROM CONAKRY, TOGETHER WITH ALL BUT TWO OF HIS STAFF. FOR THE SAME REASON ZAIRE WILL ALSO "CLOSE" ITS EMBASSY IN BENIN (DAHOMAY).

3. MEANWHILE, BULA WENT ON, GOZ WILL CONTINUE ITS DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO DISCOURAGE ANY FURTHER RECOGNITIONS OF MPLA. IN THIS CONNECTION, BULA WILL LEAVE LATER THIS WEEK FOR BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, SWAZILAND, AND MALAWI AS "GESTURE TO THOSE STATES WHICH SUPPORTED US AT ADDIS" AND TO BE SURE THEY STAY IN LINE. WHILE EXPRESSING ANXIETY ABOUT ANTICIPATED SOVIET EFFORTS TO INDUCE ADDITIONAL RECOGNITIONS (HE SAID HE HAD LEARNED WHILE LEAVING ADDIS THAT ETHIOPIA HAD DECIDED TO RECOGNIZE MPLA), BULA WONDERED ABOUT CHANCES OF PERSUADING SOME OF CURRENT MPLA BACKERS TO ALTER THEIR POSITIONS. HE SAID IF WE COULD HELP IDENTIFY ANY POTENTIAL CANDIDATES, HE WOULD SEE THEY GOT SPECIAL ATTENTION FROM ZAIRE AND POSSIBLY OTHER LIKE-MINDED AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS.

4. BULA INDICATED THAT ASIDE FROM MAINTAINING DIPLOMATIC PRESSURES, GOZ HAD NOT YET DECIDED ON WHAT IF ANY POLITICAL INITIATIVES IT MIGHT TAKE. HE SAID RAISING SOVIET THREAT WITH UN SECURITY COUNCIL WAS ONE OPTION GOZ HAD CONSIDERED EARLIER; NOW THAT OAU HAD STRUCK OUT, GOZ WAS AGAIN CONSIDERING WHETHER THIS WOULD BE USEFUL AND WOULD LIKE USG'S

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SECRET

PAGE 03 KINSHA 00340 200738Z

VIEWS. I TOLD BULA I WOULD SEEK WASHINGTON'S ADVICE ON THIS POINT IN LIGHT OF CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. I WENT ON TO EXPRESS PERSONAL VIEW THAT ANY REFERRAL TO SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT CARRY MORE WEIGHT IF ZAIRE WERE JOINED BY OTHER AFRICAN STATES WHOSE SECURITY AFFECTED BY SOVIET INTRUSION IN ANGOLA OR ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. BULA SAID THAT ZAMBIA WAS LOGICAL PROSPECT AND THAT HE WOULD SOUND OUT KAUNDA'S VIEWS WHEN HE STOPS IN LUSAKA NEXT WEEK.

5. TURING TO MILITARY SITUATION, BULA SAID FNLA'S POSITION ON NORTHERN FRONT WAS DETERIORATING RAPIDLY AND HOSTILE FORCES WERE COMING DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO ZAIRE'S OWN FRONTIERS. MEANWHILE SOVIET WARSHIPS COULD AT ANY TIME BLOCK ZAIRE'S NARROW OUTLET TO THE ATLANTIC. HE SAID MORE HELP WAS NEEDED FAST, AND ASKED WHAT I THOUGHT THE US COULD DO. I SAID WE REMAINED FIRM IN OUR RESOLVE TO FOLLOW A RESPONSIBLE COURSE OF ACTION TOWARD ANGOLA AND TOWARD OUR FRIENDS ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, AND THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE WHAT ASSISTANCE WE COULD. I REMINDED BULA THAT THE ISSUE OF FUTURE HELP HAD NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED IN CONGRESS AND I WAS SURE THAT IF NECESSARY THE ADMINISTRATION REMAINED PREPARED TO MAKE ITS CASE VIGOROUSLY WITH THE CONGRESS WHEN IT RECONVENES NEXT WEEK. ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, I CONGRATULATED THE GOZ FOR HAVING PLAYED SUCH A FIRM AND EFFECTIVE ROLE AT THE OAU SUMMIT. EVEN THOUGH THE SUMMIT WAS A DISAPPOINTMENT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF POSITIVE OAU ACTION, THE FACT THAT HALF OF AFRICA HAD REFUSED TO YIELD TO MPLA/SOVIET PRESSURES WAS IN ITSELF A HOPEFUL SIGN THAT SOME PEACEFUL SOLUTION COULD YET BE ATTAINED. I SAID IT WAS EVIDENT FROM THE STATEMENTS OF DEPARTMENT SPOKESMEN AND ASST POSITION ON ANGOLA REMAINED UNCHANGED. BULA ACKNOWLEDGED THIS, BUT AGAIN EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT MORE THAN POLITICAL SUPPORT WOULD BE NEEDED IN THE DAYS AHEAD SO LONG AS THE SOVIETS PERSISTED IN SETTLING THE ISSUE BY FORCE.

6. COMMENT/ACTION REQUESTED: ALTHOUGH BULA HAS BEEN WITH MOBUTU FOR PAST SEVERAL DAYS, ONE CAN NEVER BE SURE HIS VIEWS ACCURATELY REFLECT THOSE OF THE PRESIDENT. MOBUTU HAS BEEN AWAY FROM KINSHASA FOR MORE THAN TWO WEEKS NOW
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 KINSHA 00340 200738Z

SPENDING SEVERAL DAYS IN EASTERN ZAIRE EN ROUTE HOME FROM ADDIS), BUT WHEN HE RETURNS I INTEND TO REVIEW THE ANGOLAN SITUATION WITH HIM AND WE SHOULD THEN HAVE A BETTER FEEL OF WHERE HE INTENDS TO GO FROM HERE. IN THE MEANTIME, I THINK WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE GOZ TO CONTINUE ITS DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS IN THE WAKE OF THE OAU IMPASSE. TO THIS END, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONVEY TO BULA DEPARTMENT COMMENTS RE (1) AFRICAN STATES WHICH MIGHT POSSIBLY BE PERSUADED TO ALTER THEIR SUPPORT OF THE MPLA, AND (2) THE ADVISABILITY AT THIS POINT OF SEIZING THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE THREAT TO ZAIRE'S (AND PERHAPS OTHERS') SECURITY POSED BY SOVIET INTERVENTION. BULA PLANS TO LEAVE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN STATES JANUARY 17.
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